

Message Text

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ORIGIN ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07

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C: WSHINN

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L: MMATHESON

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S E C R E T STATE 110784

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: DURATION OF FIXED PERIOD OF TIME BETWEEN
PHASES

REF: NATO 2371

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1. WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE TO SEEK A CHANGE IN THE CURRENT ALLIED POSITION REGARDING THE DURATION OF THE FIXED PERIOD OF TIME BETWEEN PHASES. THE CURRENT POSITION, WHICH ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES HAVE PUT FORWARD TO THE EAST IS THAT THE ALLIES WOULD EXPECT SECOND PHASE NEGOTIATIONS TO BEGIN AS SOON AFTER FIRST PHASE SIGNATURE AS IS PRACTICABLE, WHICH WOULD NOT BE LATER THAN IMPLEMENTATION OF FIRST PHASE WITHDRAWALS. THE ALLIES HAVE INDICATED TO THE EAST THAT THEIR PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT IS THAT THE PERIOD REQUIRED TO COMPLETE THESE WITHDRAWALS SHOULD NOT BE LONGER THAN 18 MONTHS.

2. AGREEMENT ON THIS PROPOSAL REPRESENTED A COMPROMISE AMONG THE ALLIES. HOWEVER, THIS COMPROMISE PROVED TO BE INCONSISTENT WITH THE EASTERN CONCEPT THAT SIGNATURE OF A FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT SHOULD BE FOLLOWED IMMEDIATELY BY RESUMPTION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE INTRODUCTION OF THE WESTERN 18-MONTH POSITION

HAD A NEGATIVE EFFECT IN THAT, INSTEAD OF RESPONDING TO EASTERN INTERESTS, IT APPEARED TO FEED EASTERN SUSPICION THAT THE ALLIES INTENDED TO DEFER SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS ON WEST EUROPEAN REDUCTIONS FOR AS LONG AS POSSIBLE. THUS, THE PRESENT ALLIED POSITION HAS DETRACTED FROM THE COGENCY OF THE ALLIED TWO-PHASE NEGOTIATING POSITION. IN ORDER TO ENHANCE THE ATTRACTIVENESS OF THIS POSITION IN EASTERN EYES AND TO CONVINCE THE EAST OF THE SERIOUSNESS OF WESTERN INTENTIONS, WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE TO SUGGEST THAT THE PROPOSED DURATION OF THE TIME BETWEEN PHASES COULD BE SIGNIFICANTLY SHORTER.

3. ACCORDINGLY, YOU SHOULD SEEK ALLIED AGREEMENT TO A MODIFICATION OF THE CURRENT ALLIED POSITION ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES: A. THE ALLIED NEGOTIATORS WOULD BE AUTHORIZED TO TELL THE EAST THAT, GIVEN ITS AGREEMENT TO A TWO-PHASE NEGOTIATION, BOTH SIDES COULD AGREE TO BEGIN PHASE II NEGOTIATIONS AS SOON AFTER PHASE I SIGNATURE AS IS PRACTICABLE. THIS PERIOD MUST BE LONG ENOUGH FOR THE PARTIES TO PREPARE THEIR POSITIONS FOR THE NEXT ROUND, BUT THIS SHOULD TAKE NO MORE THAN A FEW MONTHS.

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B. THE ALLIED NEGOTIATORS WOULD ALSO BE AUTHORIZED TO PROPOSE TO THE EAST THAT THE PHASE I AGREEMENT SHOULD CONTAIN A PROVISION GIVING A SPECIFIED PERIOD OF TIME FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PHASE I REDUCTIONS. THIS PERIOD COULD BE A MAXIMUM OF 12 MONTHS FROM ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE AGREEMENT, AND WOULD PRESUME EXPEDITIOUS ACTION BY BOTH SIDES FOLLOWING SIGNATURE OF THE AGREEMENT TO BRING IT

INTO FORCE.

4. IN PUTTING FORWARD THIS PROPOSAL TO THE ALLIES, YOU SHOULD DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING POINTS: A. SUGGESTING THAT THE TIME BETWEEN NEGOTIATING PHASES MAY BE CONSIDERABLY SHORTER WILL INCREASE THE ATTRACTIVENESS OF THE ALLIED POSITION AND ENHANCE THE LOGIC OF THE ALLIED TWO-PHASE APPROACH. IT IS UNNECESSARY FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF ALLIED INTERESTS TO AWAIT COMPLETION OF THE PHASE I REDUCTIONS BEFORE PHASE II NEGOTIATIONS BEGIN. WHILE THIS MIGHT BE A WAY TO ENSURE ACTUAL SOVIET IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PHASE I REDUCTIONS, THERE ARE OTHER WAYS TO MEET THIS CONCERN. THE SOVIETS WILL HAVE UNDERTAKEN A PRECISE OBLIGATION IN THE PHASE I AGREEMENT TO IMPLEMENT WITHDRAWALS WITHIN A SPECIFIC PERIOD OF TIME, AND THE ALLIES WILL ALWAYS HAVE IT IN THEIR POWER TO EMPLOY STALLING TACTICS DURING PHASE II NEGOTIATIONS UNTIL THEY HAVE SATISFIED THEMSELVES THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE IMPLEMENTED THE PHASE I AGREEMENT IN GOOD FAITH.

B. IT MAY BE NECESSARY FOR THE US TO SUBMIT THE PHASE I

AGREEMENT FOR LEGISLATIVE APPROVAL IN SOME FORM. IF SO, THE FORMAL ENTRY INTO FORCE AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF REDUCTIONS WOULD HAVE TO AWAIT COMPLETION OF THIS PROCESS. EVEN IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE THAT COMMENCING PHASE II NEGOTIATIONS WOULD NOT INTERFERE WITH THE PROCESS OF LEGISLATIVE APPROVAL AND MIGHT EVEN AID IT. WE COULD EXPLAIN THAT THE PHASE I AGREEMENT IS THE FIRST STEP IN OUR EFFORTS TO SEEK MUTUAL REDUCTIONS WHICH FURTHER ENHANCE STABILITY AND THAT PHASE II NEGOTIATIONS REPRESENT A CONTINUATION OF THESE EFFORTS. KISSINGER

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